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tively moderate expense, we should not hesitate to choose this in preference to any we have seen.

It has another commendable trait also, which ought not to be slightly passed over ; we mean the uncommon beauty and elegance of the mechanical execution. This characteristic prevails in all Mr Lucas's maps, and is not more creditable to his zeal for his favorite science, than to his taste and love of the arts. He is sparing of his mountains, and is not prone to multiply crooked and branching rivers, where none exist, for the sake of filling up a vacant space. Indeed, for neatness in the drawing, for the finished execution of the artist, and the exquisite beauty of coloring, no maps have come under our eye, either from abroad or among those published in this country, which can claim precedence to several specimens contained in Mr Lucas's Atlas.

We have cheerfully embraced an opportunity to say as much as we have done, in expressing our opinion of the works before us, considering them honorable to the country, and among the strong marks of our literary and scientific advancement ; they are trophies of American enterprise, which it becomes a discerning public to regard with favor, and reward with substantial patronage ; and we hope the authors will be encouraged to pursue the labors, which they have thus far prosecuted with so much credit to themselves, and so much benefit to the community.

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ART. XXIII.—*Reflections on the Politics of Ancient Greece, translated from the German of Arnold H. L. Heeren.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. 8vo. pp. 350. Cummings, Hiliard, & Co. Boston.

THIS volume, in the original, forms a portion of a large work, which is entitled 'Reflections on the Politics, Inter-course, and Commerce of the chief Nations of Antiquity.' It appears to have been Mr Heeren's intention to treat at equal length all the ancient nations of historical importance. As yet, however, he has accomplished his design only with respect to those of Asia and Africa. He has discussed the subject of the Persians, the Phenicians, the Babylonians, the Scythians,

the Indians, in Asia; and in Africa, the Carthaginians and Egyptians. The present volume, forming a disconnected work on the Grecian Institutions, is all that has as yet appeared on any European nation; and whether the learned and ingenious author will extend his researches to the states of southern and western Europe, the Romans, Gauls, Germans, and Britons, we have no information. The masterly execution of what has already appeared has long excited a wish, among those acquainted with these volumes, that the plan may be pursued in its full extent. Few writers, as we shall presently remark more at large, have better succeeded than Mr Heeren in treating questions of antiquity with the spirit of modern philosophical criticism. By this we are far from intimating, that he partakes of that skepticism, by which the authenticity of every account of the ancient world is made to depend upon its analogy with what is passing around us. Mr Heeren, on the contrary, is rather a disciple of the old school; or still more correctly, a prudent mediator between the bold speculations of some of his countrymen, and the credulous learning of the last century. We propose to present our readers with a brief analysis of this volume, and a few remarks on some of its important statements.

We are not sure whether the title of the volume is successfully chosen, to convey a complete and accurate notion of its contents. It embraces some subjects, which do not generally find a place under the head of politics; and all that belongs to politics are not discussed. The translator has justly observed, that it is 'a series of essays, which relates solely to subjects *connected* with the political institutions of Greece, and may be regarded as an independent collection of separate historical sketches.'

In the general preliminary remarks some curious topics are briefly touched. One of them occurs in the very outset, and is the superiority of the European race over every other race of men. Conceding the superiority in natural gifts to other quarters of the earth, 'in everything which is the work of man,' says the author, 'the nations of Europe stand far above those of the other continent.' In Europe alone,\* the

\* It needs not be said, that the remarks of our author of course extend to the nations of European descent.

institution of marriage has been brought to a state, in which it is the foundation of domestic life and virtue. Here slavery alone has been abolished, and free constitutions of government permanently established. The greatest improvements in arts and sciences, useful, ornamental, and speculative, have been made in Europe; and though the East is undoubtedly the birthplace of many inventions, the credit which might be due to her, on that account, is more than counterbalanced by the barbarous infancy in which, notwithstanding these inventions, she has remained. It is an equivocal compliment, which has been sometimes paid to the Chinese, to say they preceded Europe in the knowledge of the art of printing, and of the Mariner's Compass, when we consider the state of their literature and navigation, compared with that of the western nations. Our author will not even concede to the other continents a political or military reputation.

‘Nor can we less admire that political superiority,’ says he, ‘which the nations of this small region, just emerging from the savage life, immediately established over the extensive countries of the large continents. The East has seen powerful conquerors; but it was only in Europe that generals appeared, who invented a science of war really worthy of the name. Hardly had a kingdom in Macedonia of limited extent outgrown its childhood, before the Macedonians ruled on the Indus as on the Nile. The imperial city was the heiress of the imperial nation; Asia and Africa prostrated themselves before the Cæsars. Even in the centuries of the middle age, when the intellectual superiority of the Europeans seemed to have sunk, the nations of the East attempted to subjugate them in vain. The Mongolians advanced into Silesia; nothing but the wastes of Russia remained for a time in their power; the Arabs desired to overrun the West; the sword of Charles Martel compelled them to rest contented with a part of Spain; and the chivalrous Frank, under the banner of the cross, soon bade them defiance in their own home. And how did the fame of the Europeans extend its beams over the earth, when, through Columbus and Vasco de Gama, the morning of a fairer day began to dawn for them. The new world at once became their prey; more than a third part of Asia submitted to the Russian sceptre; merchants on the Thames and the Zuyder See seized on the government of India; and if the Turks have thus far been successful in preserving the country, which they have robbed from Europe, will it remain to them forever? Will it remain to them long?’ pp. 2—3.

We suppose no one, upon the whole, will be inclined to deny the justice, with which the superiority of Europe is here maintained; unless there may be some who think that Europe has only for two or three thousand years had *its turn*; that the Eastern nations had theirs earlier, and attained a perfection, in many of the arts and improvements of life, of which the monuments have perished, and the tradition is lost; that the European superiority seems to us decisive, because we survey it from a nearer point of view, while it is out of our power to take a station, from which we can penetrate to the unrecorded ages of Oriental achievement. Such a mode of surveying the question has something to recommend it, especially if we consider the forgotten greatness of the East, and the present predominance of Europe, as two acts only in the history of man.

When we look forward to the future, new combinations of national character and national fortune seem to be rising up, in no very distant perspective. We fear the past history of the world does not favor the belief, that while such a vast development of energy is taking place in the continents of America, no diminution will result of that, which is in action in the old world. In Roman and Grecian antiquity, national character, glory, and power appeared necessarily to gather about one centre. The sceptre seemed literally to pass from one to another. Whether we seek the illustration in the fabulous traditions of the oldest empires, of the primitive conquerors of Thebes, and Babylon; and the succession of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Chaldean dynasties; or whether we confine our remarks to events more within the range of history, the solemn procession of the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman supremacies, it would seem not only that Asia, but the earth itself, could bear but one lord; and that a high degree of eminence could be attained only by one political community, at a time. In modern ages, the capacities of man are certainly widened. A spiritual religion, the art of printing, the perfection of navigation, and the institution of representative government, have given an extension to improvement unknown before. They have made it possible that several refined, powerful, cultivated nations should coexist, and what is still more, many of them exist in unpropitious natural positions. Cold, mountainous, and rocky regions

have become the abodes of those arts, which could not flourish in antiquity, but in a Hesperian or Ionian climate. Still, however, there must be a limit to the multiplication of powerful nations; and while political power and national wealth are increasing, with a rapidity we can hardly compute in this hemisphere, it is scarcely possible that the seeds of their decline should not be sown in the eastern. Perilous conflicts must in time follow, and vast rivalries grow up; and in that condition of the world's politics, it is plain that the complicated enginery of the old world must give way in the collision with the new. If this be a just view, Europe is hereafter, like Asia, to exhibit monuments where she now exhibits trophies, and furnish themes for speculation, not on national superiority, but national decline. Nevertheless, as it is rather safer to take the world as it is, and as it has been for the last four thousand years, it must be acknowledged that the European ascendancy is a fact, deserving at least an attempt at an explanation. The following remarks are thrown out by our author, merely as a hint toward solving a problem, which, in its extent, is probably beyond the grasp of our minds.

‘Here one important circumstance excites attention; and yet a circumstance, of which the cautious inquirer hardly ventures to fix the value. Whilst we see the surface of the other continents covered with nations of different, and almost always of dark color; (and, in so far as this determines the race, of different races;) the inhabitants of Europe belong only to one race. It has not now, and it never had, any other native inhabitants than the white nations.\* Is the white man distinguished by greater natural talents? Has he by means of them an advantage over his colored brethren? This is a question, which physiology cannot answer, and to which history must reply with timidity. Who will directly deny, that the difference of organization, which we so variously observe to attend on the difference in color, can have an influence on the more rapid or more tardy unfolding of the mind? But who can, on the other hand, demonstrate this influence, without first raising that secret veil, which conceals from us the reciprocal connexion between body and mind? And yet we must esteem it probable; and how much does this probability increase in strength, if we make inquiries of history? The great superiority, which the white nations in all ages

\* ‘The Gipsies are foreigners; and it may seem doubtful how far the Laplanders are to be reckoned in the white or yellow race.’

and countries have possessed, is a matter of fact, which cannot be denied. It may be said, this was the consequence of external circumstances, which favored them more. But has this always been so? And why has it been so? And further, why did those darker nations, which rose above the savage state, attain only to a degree of culture of their own; a degree, which was passed neither by the Egyptian nor by the Mongolian, neither by the Chinese nor the Hindoo? And among them, why did the black remain behind the brown and the yellow? If these observations cannot but make us inclined to attribute a greater or smaller capacity to the several branches of our race, they do not on that account prove an absolute want of capacity in our darker fellow men, nor must they be urged as the sole cause. Thus much only is intended, that experience thus far seems to prove, that a greater facility for developing the powers of mind belongs to the nations of a clear color; but we will welcome the age, which shall contradict experience in this point, and which shall exhibit to us cultivated nations of negroes.' pp. 4—6.

After some general remarks on the geographical configuration of Europe at large, Mr Heeren treats that of Greece in particular, and this topic forms the subject of his first chapter. It ought ever to be borne in mind, in studying the history of any nation of antiquity, that its geographical features are of far greater importance than they usually are in modern nations. It is true, that in all ages, some geographical features are sufficient to decide the whole character of a country. A bar at the mouth of a river, a want or an abundance of harbors, an insular or a continental position, are all facts, in which the fate of nations has been wrapt up. In antiquity, without printing and without the compass, man was far more the creature of the spot on which he grew. As the vine is said to differ even in contiguous vineyards, from almost imperceptible qualities of the soil, so in antiquity, the smallest circumstances of position, contiguity, and protection of mountain, river, or sea, decided the condition of countries. If any one cause be demanded for the lead taken by southern Greece, in the march of improvement, none could be so well fixed on as the triple row of mountains, by which it was defended from the incursions of the barbarians of the north.

The difficult subject of the earliest condition of the Greeks is treated by our author in the second chapter. The traditions of antiquity on this point are well known to be so con-

tradictory ; and the relations of the Pelasgi and Hellenes to each other, and to the subsequent Greek race, are so unsettled, that few topics relative to Greece less reward the labor of research. Mr Heeren does not, in any part of his work, assume the office of the antiquary, and the greater portion of the section is occupied in marking the radical distinction, which appeared, at a later period, between the Doric and Ionic races. This distinction, closely connected as it is with all effectual insight into Grecian history, literature, and art, must yet be assumed as an ultimate fact, insufficiently traced to any remote springs of national character. When it first bursts upon us, in the return of the Heraclidæ, it is already strongly marked, energetic, ominous, or rather productive of revolution and convulsion ; and from that hour to the last of Grecian liberty, it was the hinge of all their politics. It was to them alone all that has ever been included in patrician and plebeian, Guelph and Ghibbeline, catholic and protestant, roundhead and cavalier, and whatever other names have prevailed in other nations, with or without any other principle, than that which leads men to quarrel, when honors and profits are few, and candidates many.

In treating the original sources of the culture of the Greeks, the author has made fine remarks on their religion, and on the colonists from Egypt and Phenicia ; the one as the source of the indigenous, and the other of the borrowed improvements, in the period which transpired before a new political organization was formed, original, peculiar, healthy, competent to the production of great works and great characters. Though Mr Heeren does not dwell to much extent on the interesting subject of the mysteries, yet from his brief remarks, it would appear that he regards them, in what has ever appeared to us the most reasonable light, that of representations of those arts of civilized life, which prevailed at the periods, at which the mysteries were severally instituted, and designed at first as festivals, in honor of the divinity more immediately connected with the arts or improvements in question. There can be little doubt, that the Bacchic and Eleusinian mysteries had a primitive connexion with the introduction of the culture of the vine and of wheat ; nor that the oracle of Dodona, among the oaks of Epirus, had its origin in the periods, when those oaks afforded the suste-



nance of the rude mountaineers, who consulted the god beneath their shade. These, however, are speculations into which Mr Heeren does not enter, and from which such of our readers as may have fallen into the hands of Gibelin or Dupuis will be glad to escape, even at the risk of running into the unnatural refinements of the Warburtonian school.

The heroic age of Greece and the Trojan war form the subject of the next chapter. In hinting at the analogy of the heroic age of Greece, and the age of chivalry in modern Europe, we are satisfied that Mr Heeren has made a suggestion, capable of being pursued to the greatest advantage. As we read of the heroic ages in their great record, the poems of Homer, we are apt to regard it only as a pleasing fiction, and not even always entitled to that epithet. The poetical attributes of the heroes, their manners, their exploits, their characters, by turns extravagant, ridiculous, marvellous, in all the gradations of the romantic, fabulous, insipid, and revolting, are apt to disgust us, to the extent, that we deny all reality to an original of which this is the delineation. But we learn to think more soberly and charitably of Grecian heroes and their conflicts with wild beasts, their predatory excursions, piratical expeditions, multitudinous wooings, their contests and intercourse with gods, the rudeness of their language and barbarity of their manners, when we look into Tasso and Ariosto. Possessing contemporary and authentic accounts of the age of chivalry, we are not left to these last poems for all our information relative to the period, in which their action is laid. But supposing all other documents had perished, that Ariosto and Tasso were the only sources of our information of the age of chivalry, or the age immediately preceding, it is quite plain that as fabulous an air would hang over those ages, as over the heroic ages of Greece. They would have been found open to the objections resting of course on everything avowedly marvellous; and even doubts would have arisen in regard to the most unquestioned features of the time. Nothing but authentic historical monuments would be sufficient to make men, at this day, give credit to the traditions of the manners and character of the age of knight errantry. Now of the heroic age of Greece, we know nothing but through the poems of

Homer and some similar sources. He no doubt gave some scope to his invention, and pretends only to a distant traditional knowledge of the events he describes.\* If then, the main picture, which he gives us of the life and character of the heroes, be different from any form of social existence now known, the analogy of the modern chivalrous times should teach us, at least, a modest skepticism with respect to its reality.

Before quitting this topic we would briefly observe, that a form of social existence, nearer to us in time and place than the chivalrous ages of Europe, might furnish some analogies to illustrate the heroic age of Greece. We allude to the condition of our North American savages. The classical reader needs not too hastily start at a comparison of the heroic fathers of Greece with the natives of our woods. There are some striking points of resemblance in their institutions, manners, and organization. The ascendancy acquired by personal prowess, independent of any official rank, the nature of the authority of the chief, the priestly character, the style of hospitality in which the hero slays the animal and cooks the food, the delicacy with which the stranger is feasted before his errand is inquired for, the honor in which thieving is held, and numerous other points will suggest themselves to the curious inquirer, in which the heroic life reappears in our western forests. We cannot here but recal the observation of M. de Talleyrand, in a memoir to the Institute, in which the same conclusion is reached in another way. He observes that in travelling inward from the Atlantic coasts to the west, you pass through those gradations of character, which in the old world are found only by travelling backward in the line of time. We do not think that fruit enough has been gathered from this wise reflection. Ancient history tells us about the aborigines of Greece and Italy ; we see the accounts are exaggerated, incredible, fabulous ; and we exclude the period, to which they refer, from the range of authentic history. But here in America, we are brought in contact with tribes, from the nature of the case, nearly similar ; and we have no doubt, that a philosophical examination of their peculiarities would reduce within credible limits many of the wild tales of classical antiquity.

\* *Iliad* II. 486.

Nor must it be inferred that the heroic age of Greece is too much degraded by the comparison ; for though we maintain that the heroic age was an age of barbarism, yet barbarism, like civilization, has its degrees. They are not themselves different degrees of the same thing. There appears to be an essential difference between them, which makes the highest point of barbarism a very different thing from a low degree of civilization. Nations, who must be called barbarous, like the Mexicans, have carried some human improvements to a point unknown in some civilized countries ; and yet the peasant in civilized countries possesses some points of superiority over any hero of the Iliad, or Inca of Peru. Though we think, therefore, the heroic life in Greece will bear a comparison with the life of our Northern American savages, inasmuch as both fall under the class of *barbarous* ; yet the Agamemnons and Hectors are certainly before the Redjackets and Tecumsehs ; whether they are before the Logans would bear an argument.

Mr Heeren next treats of the *Period succeeding the Heroic Age* ; of the *Emigrations* from Greece ; and the *Origin and Character of the republican Forms of Government*. Regarding Homer as having lived within this period, a brief discussion succeeds of the subject of his personality, and the effect of the poetry which bears his name, on his countrymen. Mr Heeren only alludes, and with the greatest impartiality, to those discussions among his neighbors and colleagues in Germany, relative to the authenticity of these renowned poems. This no doubt may be ascribed to the deep share of our author's father in law, the venerable Heyne, in the contest, which this subject excited about thirty years ago in Germany, and to which we have made some allusion, in our review of Mr Heeren's life of Heyne, in an early volume of the former series of this journal. The following observations on the subject, we are persuaded will interest our readers ; the fact mentioned, at the close of the extract, will probably be new to many of them.

‘ Under such circumstances it is intelligible, that when a sublime poetic genius arose among a people so fond of poetry and song as the Ionians always were, the age was favorable to him ; although the elevated creations of his mind must continue to appear wonderful. There are two things, which in modern times appear most

remarkable and difficult of explanation ; how a poet could have first conceived the idea of so extensive a whole, as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* ; and how he could have composed them, how he could have executed works of such extent, and how those works could have been preserved, without the aid of writing.

‘ With regard to the first point, criticism has endeavored to show, and has succeeded in showing, that these poems, especially the *Iliad*, possess by no means that perfect unity, which they were formerly believed to possess ; that rather many whole pieces have been interpolated or annexed to them ; and there hardly exists at present an inquiring scholar, who can persuade himself, that we possess them both in the same state, in which they came from the hands of the poet. But notwithstanding the more or less frequent interpolations, each has but one primary action ; which, although it is interrupted by frequent episodes, could hardly have been introduced by any but the original author ; and which does not permit us to consider either of these poems as a mere collection of scattered rhapsodies. It is certainly a gigantic step, to raise epic poetry to the unity of the chief action ; but the idea springs from the very nature of a narration ; and therefore it did not stand in need of a theory, which was foreign to the age ; genius was able of itself to take this step. Herodotus did something similar in the department of history.

‘ We find it still more difficult to comprehend how works of this extent could have been planned and executed without the aid of an alphabet, and preserved, probably for a long time, till they were finally saved from perishing by being committed to writing. We will not here repeat at large, what has already been said by others ; that a class of singers, devoted exclusively to this business, could easily preserve in memory much more ; that the poems were recited in parts, and therefore needed to be remembered only in parts ; and that even in a later age, when the Homeric poems had already been entrusted to writing, the rhapsodists still knew them so perfectly, (as we must infer from the *Ion* of Plato,) that they could readily recite any passage which was desired. But let us be permitted to call to mind a fact, which has come to light since the modern inquiries respecting Homer, and which proves, that poems of even greater extent than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can live in the memory and mouths of a nation. The *Dschangariade* of the *Calmucks* is said to surpass the poems of Homer in length, as much as it stands beneath them in merit ;\* and yet it exists only

\* See on this subject B. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereyen unter den Kalmycken*. B. 2, S. 213, &c. This *Calmuck Homer* flourished in the last century. He is said to have sung three hundred and sixty cantos ; but this number may be exaggerated. Of the singers, called *Dschangartschi*, it is not

in the memory of a people, which is not unacquainted with writing. But the songs of a nation are probably the last things, which are committed to writing, for the very reason that they are remembered.' p. 114—116.

The next chapter treats of the *Means of preserving the National Character*; and the remarks on the Amphictyonic Councils are particularly instructive. The *Persian Wars and their Consequences* are next in order, and here too the American student of history will find, in his own country, the aptest illustrations of the effect on the Grecian character of their united efforts against the Persian invaders. The war of 1776 is the Trojan war of America; it brought the colonies into united action, and bound them together as members of a whole; and even the last war with England, however the analogy may fail in other respects, had an effect scarcely less powerful, in concentrating the energy, crushing the parties, and raising the spirit of the people. The political tone, on all sides in this country, was comparatively low till this crisis. The reciprocal disputes about British and French influence cannot now be read, by a highminded American, without a blush. It is since the peace of December, 1814, that the country has begun to raise its crest among the nations; that it is quoted, feared, and courted abroad. We are well persuaded that, in our future annals, when ages shall have illustrated with permanent consequences the bearing and effect of things, the war of 1812 will be found to be the Persian war of our country. What the Persian war was to Greece, is briefly told in the following sentences.

‘Thus the people of Hellas, by means of this war, appeared among the nations in the splendor of victory. They were now permitted to look around in tranquil security; for who would venture to attack them? The eastern world obeyed the humbled Persian; in the North, the kingdom of Macedonia had not yet begun its career of conquest; and Italy, still divided into small states, did not as yet contain a victorious republic. The period was therefore come, in which Greece could unfold all its youthful vigor; poetry and the fine arts put forth their blossoms; the philosophic

easy to find one, who knows more than twenty by heart. In the fourth part of his work, Mr Bergmann has given us a translation of one of them, which is about equal in length to a rhapsody of Homer. It thus appears to be no uncommon thing for the Calmuck singers to retain in memory a poem quite as long as the Iliad or Odyssey.

mind contemplate itself in tranquillity ; and in public spirit, the several cities vie with each other in generous competition. A nation does not need peace and tranquillity, to become great ; but it needs the consciousness, that it is possessed of strength to gain peace and tranquillity.' p. 149.

The *Constitutions of the Grecian States* are next discussed. The topic is various, perplexed, and difficult in some points to explain. But Mr Heeren has treated it with great success ; and the best read student will rise from the chapter with instruction. The readers of Mitford particularly will feel relieved from some of that melancholy, which his able work inspires, by its dark pictures of the effect of free institutions. The *Political Economy of the Greeks*, which forms the topic of the tenth chapter, has, since the publication of Mr Heeren's work, been made the subject of a separate treatise of uncommon research, by Professor Boeckh of Berlin.\* Still, however, the chapter in Mr Heeren's *Reflections* will be read with advantage, even by those acquainted with the work of Mr Boeckh. Our limits do not permit us to enter into the discussion of any of the interesting topics brought forward in this chapter. We should, however, like the opinion of the assessors of the city of Boston of the feasibility of the usage hinted at, in the following passage and note appended to it by Mr Heeren.

' Taxes on property are attended with one great difficulty, that they cannot be apportioned out without a knowledge of the fortunes of each contributor. But they depend also more than any other on correctness of moral sentiment, and on public spirit. Where these exist, (and they can nowhere more prevail, than in such civil communities as the Grecian states,) there is no need of returns on the part of those who are to be taxed, nor of any inquiry on the part of the state. Confidence is reposed in the conscience of the contributor ; and examples may be found in history, of states in which even a suspicion of any insincerity was almost unheard of.† In the Grecian cities, at least in Athens, very severe measures were in the later periods made use of against those, who were suspected of concealing the true state of their fortunes, or

\* Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener, vier Bücher von August Boeckh. 2. 8vo.

† 'As in several of the late German imperial towns. The author is acquainted with one, in which the contributions were thrown into a box, unexamined ; and yet the amount of the whole was previously known, with almost perfect exactness.'

whom it was desired to vex in that manner. They could be compelled to exchange their property for the sum at which they had estimated it. But in better times, such measures, though perhaps permitted, seem never to have been usual.' p. 208—209.

The *Judicial Institutions* and the *Army and Navy* of the Greeks form the subjects of the two succeeding chapters. For those, who would go deeper into the first, which is an intricate subject, Sir William Jones's *Isæus* will prove a valuable source of information. However justly we may complain of the perplexity, which involves the accounts left us of the Athenian Courts, we venture to say, that a foreigner would sooner obtain a clear idea of their organization, than of the single point of the difference between the courts of Chancery and of law in England. The thirteenth chapter *On the Statesmen and Orators of Greece* is that, which will be perused with most interest by the general reader. We exclude the remarks to which it might otherwise give occasion, for the sake of gratifying our readers with the character of Demosthenes, as it is contained in the following extract.

‘Nothing would be more superfluous, than the desire of becoming the eulogist of that master in his art, whom the united voice of so many centuries has declared to be the first; and whose worth, the only rival whom antiquity placed by his side, has described in a manner at once exact, and equally honorable to both. We would not here speak of Demosthenes the orator, but of Demosthenes the statesman; and of him only as far as the man, the orator, and the statesman were most intimately connected in him. His political principles came from the depths of his soul; he remained true to his feelings and his convictions, amidst all changes of circumstances and all threatening dangers. Hence he was the most powerful of orators; because with him there was no surrender of his convictions, no partial compromise, in a word, no trace of weakness. This is the real essence of his art; everything else was but secondary. And in this how much does he rise above Cicero! And yet who ever suffered more severely than he for his greatness? Of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and purest tragic character, with which history is acquainted. When, still trembling with the vehement force of his language, we read his life in Plutarch; when we transfer ourselves into his times and his situation; we are carried away by a deeper interest, than can be excited by any hero of the epic muse or of tragedy. From his first appearance, till the moment when he swallows poison in the temple, we see him contending against destiny, which seems

to mock him with malignant cruelty. It throws him to the ground, but never subdues him. What a current of emotions must have poured through his manly breast amidst this interchange of reviving and expiring hopes. How natural was it, that the lines of melancholy and of indignation, such as we yet behold in his bust, should have been imprinted on his severe countenance ! Hardly had he passed the years of youth, when he appeared in his own behalf as accuser of his faithless guardians ; from whom, however, he was able to rescue only a small part of his patrimony. In his next attempts, insulted by the multitude, though encouraged by a few who anticipated his future greatness, he supported an obstinate contest with himself, till he gained the victory over his own nature. He now appeared once more as an accuser in public prosecutions, before he ventured to speak on the affairs of the state. But in the very first of his public speeches we see the independent statesman, who not dazzled by a splendid project, opposes a vast undertaking. When Philip soon after displayed his designs against Greece, by his interference in the Phocian war, he for the first time appeared against that monarch in his first Philippic oration. From this period he had found the great business of his life. Sometimes as counsellor, sometimes as accuser, sometimes as ambassador, he protected the independence of his country against the Macedonian policy. Splendid success seemed at first to reward his exertions. He had already won a number of states for Athens ; when Philip invaded Greece, he had already succeeded not only in gaining over the Thebans, but in kindling their enthusiasm ; when the day of Chæronea dashed his hopes to the earth. But he courageously declares in the assembly of the people, that he still does not repent of the counsels which he had given.

‘ An unexpected incident changes the whole aspect of things. Philip falls the victim of assassination ; and a youth, who as yet is but little known, is his successor. Immediately Demosthenes institutes a second alliance of the Greeks ; but Alexander suddenly appears before Thebes ; the terrible vengeance, which he here takes, instantly destroys the league ; Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and several of their supporters, are required to be delivered up ; but Demades is at that time able to settle the difficulty and to appease the king. His strength was therefore enfeebled, as Alexander departed for Asia ; he begins to raise his head once more, when Sparta attempts to throw off the yoke ; but under Antipater he is overpowered. Yet it was about this very time, that by the most celebrated of his discourses he gained the victory over the most eloquent of his adversaries ; and Æschines was forced to depart from Athens. But this seems only to have the more embittered his enemies, the leaders of the Macedonian party ; and they soon found an opportunity of preparing



his downfall. When Harpalus, a fugitive from the army of Alexander, came with his treasures to Athens, and the question arose, whether he could be permitted to remain there, Demosthenes was accused of having been corrupted by his money, at least to be silent. This was sufficient to procure the imposition of a fine; and as this was not paid, he was thrown into prison. From thence he succeeded in escaping; but to the man who lived only for his country, exile was no less an evil than imprisonment. He resided for the most part in Ægina and at Trœzen, from whence he looked with moist eyes towards the neighboring Attica. Suddenly and unexpectedly a new ray of light broke through the clouds. Tidings were brought, that Alexander was dead. The moment of deliverance seemed at hand; the excitement pervaded every Grecian state; the ambassadors of the Athenians passed through the cities; Demosthenes joined himself to the number, and exerted all his eloquence and power to unite them against Macedonia.

‘In requital for such services, the people decreed his return; and years of sufferings were at last followed by a day of exalted compensation. A galley was sent to Ægina to bring back the advocate of liberty. All Athens was in motion; no magistrate, no priest remained in the city, when it was reported that Demosthenes was advancing from the Piræus. Overpowered by his feelings, he extended his arms and declared himself happier than Alcibiades; for his countrymen had recalled him, not by compulsion, but from choice. It was a momentary glimpse of the sun, which still darker clouds were soon to conceal. Antipater and Craterus were victorious; and with them the Macedonian party in Athens; Demosthenes and his friends were numbered among the accused, and at the instigation of Demades were condemned to die. They had already withdrawn in secret from the city; but where could they find a place of refuge? Hyperides with two others took refuge in Ægina in the temple of Ajax. In vain! they were torn away, dragged before Antipater, and executed. Demosthenes had escaped to the island Calauria in the vicinity of Trœzen; and took refuge in the temple of Neptune. It was to no purpose, that Archias, the satellite of Antipater, urged him to surrender himself under promise of pardon. He pretended he wished to write something; bit the quill, and swallowed the poison contained in it. He then veiled himself, reclining his head backwards, till he felt the operation of the poison. “O Neptune!” he exclaimed, “they have defiled thy temple; but honoring thee, I will leave it while yet living.” But he sank before the altar, and a sudden death separated him from a world, which, after the fall of his country, contained no happiness for him. Where shall we find a character of more grandeur and purity than that of Demosthenes?” pp. 275—281.

The three remaining chapters treat of the *Sciences in Connexion with the State*, the *Arts in Connexion with the State*, and the *Causes of the Fall of Greece*. They are all filled with ingenious and learned observations, and leave a most lively impression on the reader's mind. The character of Thucydides is beautifully drawn, but we must refer to the volume itself for that and several other admirable sketches.

Mr Bancroft deserves the public thanks for translating this volume. He has observed, in the preface, that the translator's task is an humble one. It may be made so ; but it is not necessarily so. This translation implies a command, not only of the German language, such as few possess, but an accomplishment of still greater value, a good knowledge of the English tongue. Nor could it have been executed, but by a person conversant with the large range of classical learning, which the work embraces. To make a translation of such a work, and as this is made, is no humble exploit. We should be much rejoiced, and think it auspicious of good to the literature of the country, if Mr Bancroft should be induced, by the reception of this volume, to translate the rest. The whole would form a treatise on antiquity different from any, with which we are acquainted, and better calculated, than any other, to give to general readers accurate knowledge of the institutions of Egypt, Persia, India, Carthage, and the other nations, which are described by Mr Heeren.

This gentleman holds a place, in the front rank of the professors at Göttingen, is one of the most esteemed German writers of the present day, is a correspondent of the National Institute of France, and worthy of the fame which he enjoys at home and abroad. It does America credit that she has made to English literature the accession of a volume like this ; and we venture to say, that the circulation among us of the whole of Mr Heeren's 'Reflections,' would visibly elevate the standard of knowledge, in the interesting department to which it belongs. No one in the country is better qualified for the enterprise than Mr Bancroft, and we should be glad to be permitted to regard this volume, as a partial pledge that he will undertake it.

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